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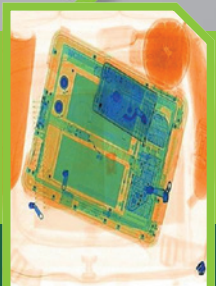
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A photograph of a person's legs and feet resting on a patterned beach towel on a sandy beach. A pair of black sunglasses and a tube of sunscreen are also on the towel. The background shows the ocean and a clear blue sky.

TOURISM AND TERRORISM: PROTECTING PARADISE

We tend to associate tourism with longed-for breaks, overseas adventures and the interruption of our daily routine by a couple of days' rest and relaxation in 'paradise'. Yet recent terrorist attacks at tourist destinations, from the beaches of Tunisia to the shrines of Bangkok and the city centre of Paris to hotels in Mali, are having a negative impact on the once widespread belief that vacations were not only an escape from the trials and tribulations of daily life but also an excursion from the political woes we witness at home on the news. [Candida Cadavez](#) discusses how the tourism industry has to adapt and incorporate the new practices necessitated by the security constraints of an ever-changing world.

Even if tourism is academically defined as an activity pursued for leisure or business purposes, whose participants spend at least twenty-four hours away from home, tourism is usually associated with relaxation, paradisiacal imagery and exoticism. Safety and security are obviously important components of the tourist 'paradise', where destinations should provide an environment of tolerance, and where our different cultural, political or religious backgrounds can cohabit peacefully (as expressed by the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, UNWTO, 1999). Respecting the various traditions, values and heritage of the places we visit is not only morally desirable, but a fundamental element of tourism.

Attacks on Tourism-related Environments

Thinking back to the 80s and 90s, it is easy to recall numerous instances in which tourists became victims of terrorism: the 1985 Achille Lauro hijack, the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, or the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games bombing.

Since the turn of the new millennium, the tourism industry has been forced to respond to other incidents, whose global impact and widespread media coverage have made them impossible to forget. The targets of atrocities have often been iconic heritage sites, landmarks or frequently visited tourist destinations. Examples of these include, in 2001, the Bamiyan Statues in Afghanistan or the Twin Towers in New York; in 2002 at the Dubrovka Theatre in Russia; or, in March 2015, at the Bardo Museum in Tunis. Particularly after the 2015 attacks in Paris, there seems to be a new threat emerging of terrorists specifically targeting tourist attractions and destinations. This was confirmed later in November 2015 when hostages were seized at a hotel in Mali and at the Radisson Blu Royal Hotel Brussels, or when, in January 2016, tourists were stabbed at a hotel in the Egyptian resort of Hurghada.

As part of their traditional strategy of targeting the innocent, the latest breed of terrorist has, beyond doubt, realised that tourist destinations are the perfect targets and that both the industry itself

and the daily lives of the surrounding communities can be completely disrupted. From the point of view of the perpetrators, tourist venues are not only frequented by multinational visitors intending to spend relaxing moments in 'paradise', but they also attract the attention of international media, and are of fundamental importance to regional and national economies. Any sort of attack on a leisure or tourist site is guaranteed media coverage, thus promoting the alleged cause and motivations of the perpetrators.

A comprehensive list of the immediate consequences of a terrorist attack is too long to draw up, as it disrupts the routines of so many stakeholders. The immediate aftermath of the attacks in November on a Cambodian restaurant, a football stadium and a theatre hosting a concert located in Paris - an iconic tourist destination, which had attracted over 84 million visitors in 2014 - is a very clear demonstration of the degree of disruption a successful attack can have. In fact, immediately after the attacks, France was joined by other Western countries to declare a state of

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emergency in several regions that are usually popular tourist destinations. As a result, free movement between some European countries was temporarily restricted, and monuments, museums, churches and theme parks were closed. France, Germany, Spain, Italy and the United States of America increased visible security presence on the streets and clearly stressed how tourist attractions, airports and railway stations would remain under heavy surveillance.

Even before the Paris attacks, in July 2015 Morocco had announced more security at airports and beaches. Aberdeen Airport was evacuated last October, and so was one of the terminals at Lisbon Airport in the following month, both following security scares. In November 2015, the US alerted its public to the risks of traveling to an extended list of destinations and Tunisia joined the list of countries implementing a state of emergency.

Consequently, it is clear that an industry generating an abundance of direct and indirect job opportunities worldwide should be concerned about the hindrance of its economic development and downturn in revenues. By the end of June 2015, Tunisia estimated that it would lose around \$515 million from its tourist industry for 2015 after the beach attack; and one month after the violent acts in Paris (i.e. two weeks prior to the festivities of New Year's Eve), it was publicly declared that the number of flight and hotel reservations in the French capital had dropped dramatically.

How the Tourist Industry will have to Adapt

Only a few years ago, going through security procedures at airports, ports, museums or hotels was usually considered by tourism stakeholders as something very close to being a needless, ridiculous role play, which did not need to be taken too seriously. Actually, to many of the stakeholders in the tourism industry, from tour operators to the tourists themselves, security measures were viewed as annoying and disturbing rigmaroles, which one tolerated despite the seemingly absurd waste of time and money, and the drain on human resources. Unless you were travelling to Israel or other higher risk destinations, profiling, screening, body searches and other forms of inspection were there just to disrupt the beginning of your holiday! Airline station managers would assess security procedures while grinning sarcastically and sub-consciously calculating how much they would have to spend on possible, and pointless, resultant flight delays; hotel managers would seriously ponder before 'desecrating' lobbies – the first impression many guest will have of their holiday accommodation – to install security equipment, and tourists would try as hard as they could to point out the absurdity of being interviewed and/or having their bodies and luggage searched by people they did not recognise as authorities.

Yet the most recent events have probably made it easier for every person associated with the industry to appreciate, and even welcome, the need for such security measures and, indeed, for the implementation of new ones. As long as this current threat paradigm remains, the application of stricter and more assertive security procedures will be understood as being a valid way for combating risk.

Balance is hard to achieve, but within this particular scope it is of utmost importance that security consultants and coordinators involved in the protection of tourist-related venues, such as airports, hotels, and museums, understand the sensitivity of tourism as far as the implementation of security procedures is concerned.

The impact of terrorism on tourism is by no means a question to be addressed in the future as a corrective measure. It is rather an issue to be considered seriously right now as a means of prevention should the industry wish to continue to be attractive to investors and harness the support of local communities, let alone remain a symbol of understanding between cultures. Stakeholders must examine what is happening globally (trends and incidents alike), as theirs is a transnational activity. It is also vital to acknowledge the fact that, as Zygmunt Bauman noted at the start of the millennium, "We are going through liquid times" (i.e. everything seems to be easily replaced and changed). Therefore what is considered today an insecure tourist destination, but one which was previously deemed 'safe',

"...an insecure tourist destination, but one which was previously deemed 'safe', will probably recover its original core market within two or three months, or bizarrely, even create a new market simply because it had been at the centre of such a significant media event..."



Ground Zero in New York has now become a 'destination' because it was the site of a terrorist atrocity. The same is likely to be the case at the Bataclan in Paris.



The British penal colony of Port Arthur, Tasmania, was the scene of a massacre in 1996. Today, many visit the site both because of its historic significance and because of a broader awareness of the site due to the massacre.

will probably recover its original core market within two or three months, or bizarrely, even create a new market simply because it had been at the centre of such a significant media event – as in the case of Ground Zero in Manhattan. The same will be true in the areas of Paris which were targeted this November where the previously unheard of Bataclan will likely become a sightseeing stop for many future visitors to the French capital.

This has long been the case. Lockerbie, in Scotland, is now a town that has an increased number of visitors specifically because of the loss of Pan Am flight 103, and the former British penal colony of Port Arthur in Tasmania is a well-established tourist destination for visitors to Australia, but one where the numbers of visitors increased following the massacre there in 1996. The surge was due to a combination of those with a ghoulish desire to see the scene of an atrocity and, more significantly, because Port Arthur's significance as a historic site only became globally appreciated because of the tragedy which had taken place there.

The tourist industry must not only learn to cope with the new reality of violence and terror, but set about creating mechanisms of resilience; one has to try to predict what might happen next and establish contingency plans. Airline companies, hotels, cruise operators, historic sites, the sports and leisure industries and all those responsible for regulation must set about this task whilst also trying to restore trust in their tourist destinations and attractions as being 'safe' places to visit now. Security measures are not some sort of superfluous expenditure but an essential component of the tourism industry.

This year, two major sports events will be taking place, which usually generate huge numbers of international tourists: in the world of football, there is UEFA's European Championships taking place in France, and Brazil will be hosting the Olympic Games. These mega-events present a security headache, but should also be seen as an opportunity to demonstrate the new security regime we must all live by.

Conclusion

Dramatic and disruptive events, as happened in Paris, create strong feelings of apprehension and demand change and the consequent implementation of new routines. After 9/11, the tourist industry feared it would never recover from the attacks but, after a necessary period of mourning and readjustment, tourism in the Western world was renewed and the previous climate of fear in which the tourist industry operated was rapidly forgotten.

The world is now going through difficult times, causing immense suffering and engendering a lack of cross-cultural understanding. Nevertheless one should not forget or neglect the skills we possess to overcome these challenges. After a normal reactive regression, tourists, visitors and travellers will adapt to the new security regimes we put in place and life will go on, even if it does so following a slightly different trail.

As United Nations World Tourism Organisation General Secretary Taleb Rifai recently stated at the press conference offered at the organisation's headquarters in Madrid, "Despite the many challenges tourism continues to grow and an average growth of 4% is expected in 2016". In the past, tourism was able to recover sooner

than expected from similar situations, and reinvent itself. There is no valid reason now not to believe that the same will happen again.

Actually, right at the beginning of December 2015, Flanders News discussed what it called the phenomenon of 'terrorism tourism' hitting Molenbeek, Brussels. The fact that suspects of the Paris attacks were assumed to live there started to work as a tourist attraction, attracting more and more visitors to the neighbourhood. At a more serious and official level, one should recall that last January, Laurent Fabius, the foreign minister of France, hosted an event at the Quai d'Orsay whose purpose was to 'relaunch the Grand Tour'. He restated the importance of France as a cultural landmark and destination and spoke about the need to remain so not only to French nationals but also to international tourists.

Planning a holiday now raises more questions and concerns than whether a location simply satisfies the 'paradise' qualification. More than ever, a trip abroad is not seen as a casual choice and tourists will now consider a whole range of aspects before making their final decision. One thing is sure; new procedures and new behaviours will shape contemporary tourist practices. In 2000, Zygmunt Bauman conceptualised the modern liquidity that frames 20th century *modus vivendi*; and tourism as one of the most important and praised social practices nowadays should be understood as one also characterised by renewing cultural identities and vulnerability. ■

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Candida Cadavez worked as Security Coordinator and Instructor for International Aviation Security Inc. In 2001 she started to lecture at the Estoril Higher Institute for Tourism and Hotel Studies, in Portugal. She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies with a thesis about tourism in nationalist oriented political paradigms. As a result of her professional and academic experiences, the focus of her current academic research includes the impact of terrorism on tourism. Within this scope she was the convener of a Special Interest Session about terrorism and tourism at the 2015 ATLAS CONFERENCE, has been published about the same issue in Portugal and Brazil and is now co-editing a volume on the impact of terrorism on tourism and travelling. Candida Cadavez can be contacted at candida.cadavez@eshte.pt.